1: Honigmann. E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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658
625

the police are disliked and this attitude is readily transferred to the governmental enterprise constructed out of the individual's experience with law enforcement.

Law and Social Control

The economic structure of Kaska society is associated with a complete lack of formal social control beyond that which has been introduced following the absorption of the group into the larger white society. There is a tendency for the people to remain as much as possible aloof from the white man's law or system of justice, interpersonal grievances within the Indian community rarely being brought to the adjudication of white courts. As a result, all cases heard have as their complainants the police, Indian Agent or white men. 626 691

The principal individual motivations compelling adult conformity to the Indian and white expectations of behavior are guilt, shame, warnings, proverbs, and fear of sanctions. Guilt and shame are inevitably related to patterning conformity to the Indian standard of values, although they are notably weak in making behavior conform to those expectations of the white society that apply to drinking, brewing, trapping, and hunting. Guilt and shame may be identified as conscience or superego pressure. Nitla defined this mechanism well when he said that an individual knows if he does evil. "He knows it in his brain. Everything hurts. You better stay alone." Conscience may often drive a person to make amends with the individual whom he has offended or it may prompt him to excuse his behavior, blaming it on somebody else. In the case of John Kean, who began living with his brother's wife, strong antipathy and aggression appeared to those people who, he thought with some reason, were criticizing his conduct. On one occasion he tried to slough off responsibility for his actions by laying the blame on Adele, the woman with whom he was living, and even on his brother. Pragmatism does not always erase the pang of conscience, as witness River Joe and Louis Moses the morning after a drinking party that had been accompanied by considerable violence and disorder. Although Mrs. Moses forgave her husband for having hurt her and River Joe was assured that his aggressive behavior had not seriously hurtered anyone, both men appeared extremely shy and discomfited. They presented to the ethnographer how "sorry" they felt about the fracas which they had begun. In general, however, the Kaska superego does not seem harsh. Once the situation of default is past, the offense tends to be quickly forgotten. No evidence was adduced of a lingering sense of guilt (although it was looked for) nor of the long persistence of any need for atonement or expiation. 626 157 [21]

Rather slight effort is made within the native community to induce adult social conformity by means of warnings and proverbs, although the missionaries and police make stronger use of this technique. The press frequently warns Indians of imminent police and supernatural sanctions, while the police threaten suspected wrongdoers with fine and arrest. Because of the reluctance of an Indian to interfere in another person's business, warnings and advice are entirely limited to relatives and close friends. River Joe was afraid to exert himself in the relationship of John Kean and Nitla's wife, for fear that word of his interference would reach the Lower Pelly River tribe to which Adele belonged and whose members would then be "down" on him. Louis Moses also emphasized his powerlessness in this direction. "I can't say nothing. That not my business. I never tell nobody what to do." One of the main reasons for such lack of interference is the fear of arousing resentment and

3: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

626 humility, but it also seems to spring from the individual's personal desire to be left alone;
157 hence he respects another's privacy. Such attitudes, however, do not always inhibit gossip, which is derived from latent antagonism or which sometimes functions as a vehicle of social control.

68 The chief sanctions imposed by the Indian community include gossip, ostracism, and
126 supernaturally derived insanity. Fine and arrest are the formal sanctions imposed by the white society. Gossip is the common result of failure to share grub and capital goods or several aggressions, and also follows adultery. Since gossip is also an expression of interpersonal hostility, its functions are wider than social control. As might be expected, the dual uses of gossip succeed in complicating its utility as a means of social control. That is to say, people often use gossip more as a retaliatory device than as a sanction, and this in turn arouses antagonism in the wrongdoer even when it leads to a modification of behavior.

626 Ostracism is an ideal sanction which in practice tends to be avoided for fear of giving
183 too direct offense to a defaulter. Nisla vouched for this ideal pattern when he said that an aggressive person, one who is "too much mean, swear, cranky," will be avoided by the people. "Nobody look after that kind of man. Everybody he don't want him." A man who becomes aggressive under alcohol may be quietly left out of a drinking party, although nobody would refuse an invitation to share his brew. On the other hand, if the offensive person appears on the scene of a beer drink, there is no way to prevent him from joining the group.

631 Insanity and debauchery are supernaturally derived sanctions which are popularly feared
[illegible] to follow infractions of incestuous exogamy and other forms of incest. Insanity is also believed to occur: "If you think about girl too much . . . If you want to play with girl too much."

626 Fines are feared not so much because they deprive one of wealth than because they involve appearance in court and expose the individual to questioning and public censure.
156 Arrest is the most dreaded sanction, and this fear is reinforced by the frequently repeated
697 story of one of River Joe's sons. Several years ago the youth was arrested on the complaint of a white man for a marital offense. Found guilty, he was sent to prison for one year. The incarceration is widely supposed to have affected him mentally, although other reports blame his subsequent break-down on a too intense interest in girls. At any rate, upon his release from prison, the young man showed psychotic reactions and once more had to be removed from the area for confinement. He is still a patient in a mental hospital near Vancouver. This incident is very much in the memory of the people and helps to confirm the strong fear of arrest. Nobody was jailed during the period of field work, one reason for this being the lack of jail facilities in Lower Post. In 1945, however, a jail was built in the town and the constable is reported to have promised that it would be readily used if necessity demanded. Imprisonment outside of the area is reserved for serious crimes involving sentences of a year or more.

68 Offenses against life and the person are rare. Premarital sexuality, especially when it
occurs among adolescent and seventeen year olds, could be construed as a crime according to
[836] national law but tends to be ignored by the police (who would have difficulty securing
[739] evidence), and is not regarded as a serious offense by Indians. In the past, one or two girls at McDame Creek have been sent to reform school for pronounced sexual delinquency.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

exposed portion. Meat is particularly wearing on teeth, grub tending to sharpen them. 826
"Sweet stuff" may induce tooth decay, which is also influenced by the inheritance of poor 827
dental equipment. The brain is the seat of intelligence, thought, and reason. Mental capacity is primarily derived from parents as a product of heredity.

The most important of the internal organs are the liver, stomach, heart, and lungs. Injury to the liver may produce death. The liver also functions in coitus, the sexual act fortifying that organ and keeping it "black." Prolonged sexual abstinence may cause the liver to become white and sick. If the stomach swells, injury to the liver is often suspected, while injury to the former organ is greatly feared lest its occurrence be followed by fatal damage to the liver. The heart is compared to a watch or clock; besides being the seat of emotion, it is a regulator of life and once it stops beating death is inevitable. A damaged heart can never be completely restored to normal functioning. The lungs serve organs of breathing, and in this task are closely related to the activity of the heart, permitting the latter organ to perform its regulatory activity.

With regard to the surface of the body, a thick skin is beneficial because it is less easily broken than a thin surface. Skin color is both inherited and environmentally conditioned, the dark skin of the Indians being regarded as produced by a combination of such factors as heredity, an excessive amount of meat in the diet, and persistent exposure to sunlight.

Reactions to bodily processes. Urination as well as defecation are, as has already been 827
indicated, activities to which people usually attend in privacy. Urine is regarded as the product of ingested liquids, which pass through the stomach and thence out through the genito-urinary system. The yellow color of human urine is the result of drinking tea; water is said to produce a colorless flow. Feces are the final product of ingested and digested food. The odor of the feces is brought about by their stay and decay in the body's hot interior. Constipation is caused by poor digestion, the stomach and intestines not "grinding up" food quickly enough. The feces may be hard when a man has eaten tough meat, and in that condition their passage may cause bleeding. Loose stools are the result of eating soft foods. Gas accumulated in the stomach and intestines is released through farting. Persistent farting follows overeating. Most people are careful not to fart in company and teach children to control this reaction.

Dermal reactions, such as itching, are produced by skin irritations or lice. In the case of irritations, scratching should be avoided in order to prevent the infection from spreading. No shame is attached to scratching. Blushing occurs when the blood rushes to the face. It may occur in both sexes as the result of shame or anger but is most common in girls and women. Fever is believed to come from white men but is also regarded as a condition arising from "too strong" blood. When perspiration results from strenuous activity, it constitutes a loss of the water contained in the blood. Too great perspiration makes a man weak. In illness, sweating represents an attempt of the body to rid itself of disease.

Facial reactions reveal the individual's predominant disposition and transitory moods. 828
Smiling occurs when a person "feels good"—"he think about skin." Laughter is thought 827
to be most common in young people, who are quick to respond to a joke. A man who is 201
half old, however, is no longer so ready to laugh. Laughter is also related to idleness and good health, so that when a man is working or ill, he has little inclination to exercise this faculty.

1: Honigmann: K-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

827 Yawning is a sign of anger or disapproval. Sneezing could not be explained to the informant and, in fact, was not observed among the Kaska.

827 Sneezing and a running nose are generally symptomatic of a cold, although sneezing sometimes indicates that a person will receive good news. The nasal discharge originates between the eyes at the head of the nose. A running nose is preferred to nasal congestion and consequent shortness of breath, which may, it is thought, lead to death.

Among similar and particular reactions, weeping is regarded as caused by sadness and depression. Winking is a voluntary response with humorous and sexual overtones. Ringing in the ears constitutes a phenomenon likely to occur when a man is too much alone, but may also be produced by accumulated ear wax. "Seeing stars" may be brought about by excessive heat or a disordered stomach as, for example, a stomach poisoned from bad water.

No ideas of shame or embarrassment are attached to most oral reactions, a person feeling free anywhere to hiccough, yawn, or eat, although most people refrain from spitting on a lumber floor. There is some self-consciousness about coughing in a strange camp, for fear that the owner will consider the response "dirty" or unhygienic. Hiccoughing is the result of an overstuffed stomach, which causes some food to lodge in the esophagus, blocking the passage of wind and causing air to be taken in large sudden gulps. Hiccoughing is sometimes regarded as an omen of good luck, promising meat or fur. No means is known for relieving this condition. Yawning is a sign of fatigue, but may also be a product of hunger and consequent weakness. It is relieved by a cup of tea. Spitting is regarded as ridding a person of excess mucus secreted by the nose and mouth. Its prevalence has already been discussed. Constriction or irritation of the throat, such as may come from smoking, leads to coughing, although sometimes this reaction originates from a disturbed stomach. Swallowing the "wrong way" is dangerous, because it may result in food being carried into the lungs where it may decay; "pretty soon man die."

[177 "827]

827 191 Vocalization, or speech ability, appears when a child becomes half smart. Shortly after birth, however, a mother may wipe her index finger around the baby's mouth to insure that the child will not be mute. As the child grows, he begins to make meaningful sounds and finally, informants said, begins to imitate words uttered by the parents. In this way language is acquired by each successive generation. The people believe their own language easier to learn than English.[1]

827 Digestion is primarily promoted by the stomach grinding up food. The intestines continue the digestive process by further grinding. Illness results if, for any reason, the digestive ability of the stomach becomes impaired. Digestion renews the blood—"cleans" it. If this

[177 539 191]

[1] A mythological account of the origin of linguistic diversity offered by Nisla is interesting because of the fact that it is almost an exact transcription of the Eleventh Chapter of Genesis. The myth follows: Originally all the people spoke only one language and there were only white people. They piled a great structure up in the air trying to reach the sky. Then the white people went to sleep, planning to finish the tower on the following day and cut through the sky. During the night the poles they had erected collapsed. "They can't make it up there. They make trouble. The pole slide down everything. Tomorrow try we talk this fellow; he can't make understand nothing what you say. Another fellow try. Can't hear nothing. All men different talk." Gradually groups of people withdrew and taught one another the language of one of their members. These groups now began to disperse to different countries and there further developed their languages. At this time too the Crow and Wolf moieties developed and the Indians became distinguished from white people.

down straight under her, the buttocks resting on her ankles and calves, her knees close together. In other words, she sits while kneeling. Often a woman kneels as she works, her buttocks only slightly resting on the calves of her legs, the knees close together. Young girls, especially if they wear slacks, often assume less conventional positions. In walking, both sexes maintain a relaxed, erect posture and do not slouch. Thus exists this convention from old age, there was from fifty to seventy being observed who showed no slouch. People are predominantly right-handed and regard left-handedness as shocking. The common hand shake lacks vigor, consisting of a limp clasping of hands. 5.6 [illegible] 5.8 5.9 5.10

Perceptual Process

Important organs for sensory perception include the nose, tongue, eyes, and ears. The length of the nose is believed to be correlated with an individual's olfactory acuity—the longer the organ, the more far-reaching the sense of smell. A formatically long nose, the dolicnose and longhaight, would enable a man to smell a moose while with only a short nasal passage a person is able to detect odors only a brief distance away. Taste is an ability of the tongue, related to the fact that this organ is covered by an extremely thin membrane. Taste is regarded as a guide to the edibility of food, hence the function of sight is necessitated by heredity, having many offspring will result in the destruction of this power in children, while the parents will also develop weak eyes. Such diminution of sensory power through reproduction is not a feature of other perceptual processes. Blindness may also appear as the result of an exclusive meat diet. 5.25

Emotions. The heart, operating in conjunction with the blood, is the center of emotions, particularly of such feelings as love and hate. The expression of these emotions, however, is mediated by the brain or thought—a noteworthy instance of Kaska thinking being quite in agreement with the latest psychological theories of emotion as a function of the viscera and the cerebral cortex. If a person's heart is "good," hate and violence are impossible for him, even in the face of malice or aggression. Apart from violent emotions like rage, fear, and, for women, pain and excitement, language is rarely used as an adjunct of affective expression. 5.28 5.32

Curiosity is strongly developed toward unusual features in the immediate environment. The people are intensely concerned in any novelty introduced into the community, the ethnographer's glasses, pens, the army trucks, the fish traps at the Watson Lake museum, purchases of neighbors—all were handled or examined with unrestrained curiosity. Sometimes curiosity prompts even nasal and oral exploration. One day Irene Wiley picked up a handful of fresh sawdust and smelled it. Following her, Anna Long picked up a pinch and tasted it with the tip of her tongue. At Irene's suggestion, Anna also smelled it.

Fear in the face of a recognized danger is readily expressed by adults and children. Women are particularly prone to show fear, shying from strange dogs, horses, and automobiles and also expressing great dread of wolves. Men are not immune to this emotion. While Nick and his brother, John, were helping the ethnographer erect a tent, they encountered some harvets from which they fled to a safe distance, at the same time showing manifest fear. In turn excessive fear of wolves or fear of the bush is reluctantly expressed and when shown is condemned with ridicule. It is believed that intense chronic fear, or anxiety, may result in death. Old Mike told a story of a white man who was very frightened of a

§16 dead body. "Maybe because he wanted to guess die." It so happened that this was did he
156 written a short time. "He so wanted, I think, that's why. Just you think about something
danger when it's time to go to bed, you dream about it. Maybe that's why Mikee wanted to
die."

Mike Ik was generally very rude to guests, however, quickly resolute, crying "Ogwo!" and the attitudes a reserved or reticent. Mike commonly try to suppress any too demonstrative. He manifestation of excitement. A fresh mouse truck may produce a screaming of the hunter's body and a whispered remark, but little more. The sight of game promotes a vivid, calculated move to a man's gun. In spitting about a hunt or kill, a male successful's voice reveals little extreme emotion but is quite level and matter-of-fact, only a young man smiling as he tells about his success. Women, however, never attempt to inhibit signs of excitement or obvious stimulated by game or successful hunting. Any sign of animal life near camp is for them a signal for turbulent running and shouting which, as Old Mike carefully pointed out, quickly drives the game away. As Old Mike's assistants, Anna Long one day dropped a bundle of fresh brush which she was carrying and ran to the river bank. She called something to her sister, Louisa, who was about to the house. Louisa dashed out of the cabin and called to the ethnographer's wife: "Lois, Anna saw fire other side!" Anna ran into the ethnographer's dwelling urging the house to hurry out with his rifle. Under Anna's urging, the ethnographer shot and scared the fire. Louisa excitedly exclaimed: "Shoot it, shoot it!" Running, Anna called Lady Sam who, coming with her rifle, also shot and scared. The fire finally ran into the brush. As Anna turned away she shouted: "I saw fire today!" Later, Lady Sam visited Anna and the two women, after discussing the event, began to exchange stories of animals that they had previously encountered and shot.

§23 A frequent manner of reacting to an embarrassing or otherwise pressing interpersonal
159 situation is by flight from the scene, women in particular being quick to flee when they feel discomfort in social relationships. In both sexes, embarrassment or heightened self-consciousness often finds expression in coughing. Two women returning to a dance from the toilet brush were observed to cough as they entered the house and took their places. When such a reaction occurs in an interpersonal situation involving two people, it seems to serve as an excuse for leaving or not answering some embarrassing or inconvenient question. For example, our informant, Pedro, denied that people ever coughed when embarrassed or ashamed. We pointed out that he had coughed just previously, when the subject of anal excretion had been introduced. The informant explained that a throat tickle must have occurred simultaneously with the question and had prompted his coughing. He added that smoking (he had been smoking) also stimulates coughing. It would seem that such emotionally motivated coughing is an unconscious phenomenon.

§24 Conscious elaboration. Thinking is ascribed to the brain. Several reasoning processes are demonstrated by the Kaska, including analogy, empirical induction, and deduction. Analogy is used frequently in explaining animal behavior on the basis of human behavior, while examples from other aspects of nature are sometimes also used to illustrate or explain human processes.

099 Induction is here defined as succession leading to empirical knowledge or belief which,

Obscenities excepted, dreams for the Rorschach are not consciously motivated on the will of the subject and are, therefore, to be classified as unconscious behaviors. The narrative presence of dilution is primarily manifest. Which dreaming is regarded as offering a glimpse into the immediate future, and is thought to be produced by the spirit of the dreamer traveling abroad from the body thereby encountering destiny. Sometimes a full-smooth protective dreaming. According to Old Inlet, a dream is way to remember. "If you lie to me practices, if you turn around you forget."

Two categories of dreams are distinguished by the Rorschach, good and bad. The former generally something desirable that will come true in the dreamer, and there are certain personal dream situations and symbols which are always interpreted as indicating that a person will come across such, lab as fur. Thus Dave Formally once said, "I dream for fish . . . I see fish see, that's the way I dream." Asked the meaning of the dream, he replied, "I think lucky for dirt this winter." Louie Inlet reported, "I dream I see water, a river water. Dry water." She paused and added, "Have you see fur water." Bad dreams represent situations and symbols which frighten the subject or indicate impending misfortune. Thus to dream of water generally danger of a person drowning; anyone dreaming in this way is well advised to stay away from a river or lake for some time. To dream about graphic or generalizing indicates that the dreamer will soon go hungry. Bad dreams are often scatory dreams and may be motivated by current fears and illness. Mrs. Inlet woke up groaning after dreaming that she had fallen in the water. She had been ill with a severe cold for some time and both she and her husband had been worried. Dreaming of a grizzly bear is a frequently encountered, socially patterned scatory dream which is sometimes interpreted as indicating the approach of cold weather. To dream of an airplane also portends "bad day coming." Young girls are particularly likely to have scatory dreams featuring attacks by grizzly bears or by strange men. The significance of this experience will be explored in connection with Rorschach ethos.

The manifest content of Rorschach dreams is often easy to discover, as the following example indicates. Early in October Nikki returned from Louie Inlet's settlement to Old Inlet's place in order to follow Old Inlet and the latter's son-in-law on a search of bears fully coverage, where the people planned to have season. Upon arrival Nikki told the ethnographer "I dream for snow, bears fall. They go this way, Mr. I go behind. Attend people go. They kill snow. Last night I dream that." The manifest content here reflects the purpose for which Nikki was to set out on the following day. A wish-fulfillment element is sometimes also quite clear in some dreams. Most dreams of snow and fish are probably expressions of a desire for these foods or for good fortune in general. The degree to which Rorschach dreams are amenable to analysis by other psychoanalytic concepts of dream dynamics will be apparent when a number of dreams have been studied in connection with other expressions of the dominant motivations of Rorschach personality. In general, it may be pointed out, Rorschach dreams

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of thought can be wholly applied to other societies. The whole field of comparative thinking (or, more broadly, comparative philosophy) needs more attention. Edgar, The Adaptive Thought-Patterns of the Bororo in Relation to Bororo Society (1944).

* It is interesting that Japanese dream interpretation also regards dreams of fish and fishing as signs of good and future success. Tim Kato, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der japanischen Volksglaubens (1916), pers. Inform., Other Japanese Transformations (1916), 1931.

[illegible] 157

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[illegible] 158
[illegible] 838
[illegible] 579

* The conflictive religious dreams from Ashanti dreams and dream interpretation also largely apply to the Kuba data. Like Ashanti dreams, Kuba dreaming shows wish-fulfillment as well as conflict elements. In interpreting dreams, the Kuba (like the Ashanti and western psychoanalysts) often reject the manifest content, but do not generally confirm meanings that are opposite from the dream's manifest content. Ratray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927).

and gold. A number of older women are well known for the case with which alcohol [151]
drove individuals to them; they signify annoyance by beginning to ask for a deceased [152]
daughter or son and refuse to be comforted.

Inquiries regarding mental disease in the Kaska area brought reports of several cases in [153]
which individuals of both sexes were described as "going crazy." All of these cases follow [154]
a pattern of manic-like behavior involving indiscriminate aggression and violence. Mental disorder is ascribed to several causes, including sorcery endangerment, family losses, excessive excitability, and worry.

John Johny Wiley was described by Old John as "a little crazy." "She always making trouble. She always trying to be better than everybody. Johnny, She chop the house, she want to fight on the talk outside. Harry Long told me: 'Don't go out. Let her come in. We'll fix her.' She chopping outside for this point Old John showed the ethnographer a single ax dent on the doorframe of the house in which the latter was living). She wouldn't go in. When she feel like to fight she always like that. She treat his own kid good but sometimes when she lick her kid. I don't know how many times she pound house." John Wiley died about two years after the incident of the chopping. At the time of her death "they say just kind of quiet, she never speak a word."

Another woman was described who had developed mental illness and killed her grandson. A week after the homicide she died. Her husband, Old Ayes (from whom Iron Creek on the Alaska Highway just below Lower Post is named), had also become "like John Kean, believed, sang 'doctor,' and he try to kill his wife." He was finally hospitalized in Vancouver [155]
where he died. It was said that both husband and wife were Crow and had married despite the rule of exogamy. Mental disorder was ascribed to this alliance. It is interesting to note that John Kean was also deemed "crazy" by both his father and his brother, Nisle. Both said that John's aggressive behavior should be separated from the police. Old Kean told the ethnographer that John had several times threatened to kill him.

Old John described the late John River Joe as "not all there," and referred to some of her questions as evidence in point. For example, she couldn't understand why the ethnographer was writing about Indians. On the occasion of a dance in a trader's store, she wanted to know why flour and sugar had to be stored in a dance place. Old John said she had been "like that" for six years. About 1910, River Joe is reported to have exhibited manic behavior. He sang and cried wildly, went into other people's camps and tried to kill his wife, who had to hide in the bush for a week. He did not try to harm others. In a month he was improved. About two years ago, following his arrest, one of River Joe's sons was taken out of the Kaska area because of manifest mental disorder.

Without attempting to classify these symptoms, it may be pointed out that all but one 152
of these cases of mental breakdown involve mature men and women and otherwise also conform to the manic-depressive syndrome.* About twenty years ago, according to Harry Long, the Nelson Indians were visited by what appears to have been some kind of group

* Czaplicka has distinguished two forms of Arctic hysteria among the Siberian aborigines. The chronic, completely indolent form of the disease, she points out, is common in young people, but the violent form occurs between thirty-five and fifty years of age. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia, A Study in Social Anthropology* (1914) 319-329.

2: Tom E-S (1912-1913) 1917
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539 here she came to them, and she told her that she had killed them with arrows. The old woman examined them, and saw that they had been killed with arrows. She said to her daughter-in-law, "Get some water for your husbands; they will be coming home soon." When she had returned with the water, she immediately lay down and slept, for she was very tired. Just when the men were dining, the old woman spilled the water, then woke up her daughter-in-law and sent her for more water. She noticed that she was very lame. While she was gone, the women showed the birds to her sons, who at once knew there was something wrong. They had brought home some for enclosure. They told their mother they would have a last big feed together, and that when the meal was finished she must go out and try to escape. They cooked and ate a hearty meal. When the repast was over, the old woman took the pails, pretending that she was going for water. She left the camp, and ran off into the woods. The men built up a huge fire so as to intensify the darkness surrounding it. They then searched and killed their wife, because she had deceived them. The war-party heard her cries and rushed into the camp. The brothers ran out in the darkness and escaped. *This is why since then women have been deceitful and hide their actions and wrong doings.*

[528]

13. THE OWL-WOMAN.[1]

A woman lived with her daughter, who had two husbands who were brothers. She was visited by two men who, she thought, were her sons-in-law. She made up her mind to get rid of her daughter and have her sons-in-law for herself. She told her daughter to climb up a tree where the owl lived, and get some owl-feathers for her. Her daughter refused, saying that she was afraid she might turn into an owl; but her mother persuaded her that there was no danger. When half way up the tree, the girl's clothes dropped off, and feathers began to grow on her, and she became an owl. The old woman dressed in her daughter's clothes, fixed up her face and hair to make herself look young, and then sat down in a new camp she had made to await the coming of her sons-in-law. After they came home, she remarked as she was eating, "I am young yet, see how sharp my teeth are!" and again, as she got up, "I am young yet, see how quickly I can get up! I am like a young woman." The men noticed that she got up slowly like an old person; and this, with the remarks she had made, caused them to be suspicious. They pulled back her head and her hair, and recognized her as their mother-in-law.[2] Thinking she had killed their wife, they killed her, and then went to their old camp. On the way they passed the tree where their wife was, and saw her.

[1] A similar story is found among the Tahltan. [2] See RBAE 31 : 605 (No. 64), 661.

x 171

[illegible] Medicine men became had an special dreams in this way. Some could not get the manitous they wished for, even if they tried to get them for a long time. This was because these particular powers (animal spirits) never came or appeared to them. In the end they had to be satisfied with whatever came to them. Some boys trained just as far as directed in their dreams and followed their dream instructions throughout. To induce dreams and also to obtain their manitous more quickly and easily lads concentrated their thoughts as much as possible and kept their minds fixed on the objects of their desires. They practiced this and trained themselves in mind concentration and will power.

[illegible] Some by this kind of training are said to have learned to read the minds of people and animals, etc., to some extent. Lads called on spirits of animals, birds, and powers to become their manitous and solicited aid from them and knowledge. After a time some of these spirits or powers took pity on them and spoke to them in dreams, thus becoming their manitous. Sometimes one or more of these powers spoke to them repeatedly and imparted more or less knowledge or instruction. Lads prayed to these powers before obtaining them as manitous, asking them to assist them so they would be successful at hunting. At the same time they practiced those things they wished to become expert at, such as hunting, etc.

[illegible] [illegible] probably made reduction 2 is to conform to the Canon as we have defined it.* Available information concerning population movements in the early contact period has been presented in another monograph and need not be repeated here.*

PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES

[illegible] It is manifestly impossible to utilize direct observation as a method for learning the personal characteristics of the aboriginal Kaska Indians. Such a picture, it cannot be denied, would give depth to the cultural reconstruction that we intend to present. One means of gauging the personality of a past people is to rely on the impressions of early travellers. Such visitors may not have had contact with the Kaska but with their neighbors and so it seem to transpire that relatively common behavior patterns obtained throughout a relatively large culture area. Personal observations by the writer and recent psychological studies by Hallowell, Caudill, Barnouw, and others suggest that the facts support an assumption of behavioral homogeneity in the northern forest, although differences can certainly be discovered even between adjacent tribes or nations. Richardson has given a very full and intimate impression of the Dogrib. He says:*

> Few traces of the custom popularly attributed to the red man were seen among the Dog-ribs. Men shook hands, men kiss during, anyone that have without dispute on all occasions, conjugally or not, shed tears readily, and live to a common level of equality, bodily and disembodied. Yet all, young and old, enjoy a joke heartily. They are not a serious people but, on the contrary, when young and in a situation of security, they are remarkably lively and cheerful. The reluctance of age, which gives heavily on the savage, render them grave.

According to Dawson, "the Kaska have the reputation of being a very timid people and they are rather undersized and have a poor physique. They are lazy and untraustworthy."*

[illegible] Another means of securing personality data suggested itself in the course of field work. What could a sophisticated informant say about aboriginal character types? Asked to describe some "old fashioned" individuals an Upper Liard informant provided the following persons:

"Quiet man" (mun"un"mun). Such a person spoke infrequently and briefly. However excessive taciturnity disturbed other people. A man who didn't speak for two or three days was suspected of holding murderous intentions toward somebody.

"Higher man talking" (mun"nun"wilhilmu). This refers to a man capable of many tasks and confident enough in his ability to see that other people became aware of his capacities.

"He knows everything man" (mun"yuwilhilmu). Very few people in the aboriginal community measured up to this type, a man skilled in providing all the implements and apparatus needed for making a living and doing all of the required tasks with consummate skill.

* Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (1939), 141.
* Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 37.
* Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (1852), 230.
* Dawson, *Report of an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T.* (1887-88), 300.

"[illegible] (i.e., everybody)" ([illegible]). No person was sufficient with [illegible] of his neighbors. He was universally liked. "People in the old days used to think about each other rather than talk to each other." 022

"Tell them about anything man" ([illegible]). A reflective phrase or gesture to indicated.

"Crazy man" ([illegible]). Such an individual played many jokes on his neighbors and caused other people. "He said young girls he's going to marry them." Few people belonged to this category and rarely did old people demonstrate such behavior. Our chief informant, Old Man, resided in manifest this kind of humor.

"Mad about women" ([illegible]). Refers to a man so preoccupied with the thoughts of women and sex that he could not apply himself to hunting and other work. In other words we have here the rake.

"He get around all right this little man" ([illegible]). A fellow who just get by in the course of making his living.

"Poor man" ([illegible]). People were kind to an unfortunate person of this type. If, after a suitable period of aid, he failed to make his own living their assistance might be discontinued. In return for receiving aid a person should help his benefactor, for example by visiting deadfalls. We have here the germ of specialization and the kind of relationship found in the Pueblo where poor men served rich persons.

"Lazy man" ([illegible]). He lacked both knowledge and skill and wanted much potentially productive time.

"Lazy man starving" ([illegible]). "You helped him, gave him nets, and when he needed. Pretty soon his wife come back and tell that they're starving."

"Full of power man" ([illegible]). A person who hunted his without telling the truth. People disliked a liar and tended to ignore the winding to them this designation refers.

INFORMANTS

The informants to be identified did not themselves experience directly all of the aboriginal lifeways which they recounted. In some cases, of course, aboriginal patterns have survived to contemporary or near contemporary times. Of these the informants enjoyed first hand knowledge. Other data, however, were verbally transmitted to living persons by parents and grandparents. Where such information is involved time has often fogged memories and distorted facts. If any value is seen in ethnographic reconstruction, such facts nevertheless must be accepted with a measure of caution and preserved. No great gift of prophecy is required to point out that the pace of culture change in the North is bringing about a rapid displacement of aboriginal tradition so that in the near future generations will grow up without understanding the culture of their forefathers. 115 121

Because a number of the informants employed to complete this reconstruction also served as subjects of a somewhat intimate, psychologically oriented, contemporary community study* the actual identity of these field assistants must be concealed. The 115

* Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* ([illegible]).

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WITCH-FEAR IN POST-CONTACT KASKA SOCIETY

By JOHN J. HONIGMANN

ABORIGINALLY the Kaska, like their Northern Athapaskan neighbors, were familiar with sorcery—behavior in which a person with sufficiently strong shamanistic power would steal, or was believed to steal, the wind or soul of a personal enemy and thereby induce illness. Although people who practiced such behavior were feared by the rest of the society's members, they were not usually put to death or otherwise punished. Sorcery, however, was regarded as evil and might therefore automatically lead to punishment in the form of insanity. There is no evidence that sorcery in aboriginal times ever was as prevalent as similar behavior in certain African and Melanesian groups. Following white contact, however, a socially dyscrasic form of behavior appeared among the Kaska which, to distinguish it from the sorcery complex associated with the aboriginal society, may be designated as witch-hunting or witch-fear. The present paper will first present the available evidence from historical sources and informants regarding this form of behavior. Following this an attempt will be made to analyze that material from an historical, psychological, and structural point of view and apply the findings in a universal frame of reference.[1]

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The Kaska still occupy the territory which they have always inhabited in the memory of the oldest informants. This is the area extending northwest of the Stikine River, British Columbia, Canada, to the divide north of Frances Lake, Yukon Territory, and from the western Cordillera east across the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 1). The main rivers traversing this region are the Liard, Frances, and Dease. The name Kaska is a conventional term adopted from one group of people to classify a number of contiguous tribes speaking closely related dialects. Within the area designated as Kaska several such tribes have been variously distinguished in the literature, but for present purposes the names by which they are locally known today will suffice. In the extreme north are the Frances Lake Indians. Occupying the basin of the Liard, from about the present Highway crossing twenty-three miles above Lower Post to within a hundred miles of that river's source, are the Upper Liard Indians. The

[1] Field work with the Kaska Indians took place from June to September 1944 and from June to December 1945. The work was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University. To Professors Cornelius Osgood and Irving Rouse are due thanks for critically reading this manuscript. The present account will offer a minimum of general ethnographic detail. A description of the aboriginal culture based on reconstruction is planned for future publication and a psychologically oriented study of the contemporary culture is already partially in manuscript.